20c JULY 28, 1952

THE DEMOCRATS PICK THEIR CANDIDATE—page 5

New Republic

KNIGHTS AND KNAVES IN EISENHOWER'S GREAT CRUSADE

Ike's views and the records and opinions of Republican candidates in 24 key Senate races

Reviews of

TRAVEL BOOKS by Kimon Friar

NEW FABIAN ESSAYS by T. R. Fyvel

HENRY ADAMS: HISTORIAN by Gerald Johnson

JUL 30 1952

EAST

Johnson City, Tennessee

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Letters

Fascism in Italy

● The strength of the Italian Neo-Fascist Party the MSI, was announced in the American press recently as an unexpected development. According to correspondents for such diverse publications as the New York *Times*, the *Compass*, the Philadelphia *Inquirer* and the *Nation*, the heavy vote in favor of this rightist group was a surprise. Either this is disingenuous reporting or the acumen of American journalists has reached its nadir.

I was in Italy recently. From the reports in the American press and magazines at that time I had expected to find the usual multiplicity of Italian political parties, but on the whole strong support for the centrist views of the de Gasperi Government, the United Nations and the United States. The obvious signs were all to the contrary. Groups of young men wearing arm bands marched down the streets of Rome with the exaggerated goose-step of a pre-World War II newsreel. They were apparently a common occurrence for none of the crowd showed surprise or displeasure. I immediately asked the strangers beside me who these youths were. The matter-of-fact reply was—"They are members of the MSI. You see the name conceals Mussolini which it is forbidden to use." I was told that the membership was large, the appeal being especially to young men and women. Many of these youths were unemployed. Those who had jobs earned but a pittance. . . .

In Naples the crowd quietly made way for the marching groups of the MSI. Florence had a Communist mayor. The Communist Party headquarters were plainly marked and openly displayed the hammer and sickle. This was true in all the cities that I visited. But even in Florence I saw no public demonstrations by the Communists. The swaggering youths of the MSI, however, were very much in evidence. . . .

Milan was much more prosperous than the other cities I visited. The Milanese optimistically describe their busy city as being very "American." In terms of living standards, employment, shops, modern buildings, trade unions, etc., Milan is more like America than the rest of Italy. Because of these better conditions I hoped that in Milan I should not see the MSI so prominent. A few blocks from the center of Milan is the Sforza Castle, ancestral home of the Count. It is now a museum and art school. In the park just beyond the thick walls and moat of the castle is an ordinary little bandstand. . . . My companion pointed out this stand with mingled pride and nostalgia. "That is where Hitler and Il Duce spoke to us," he explained. Evidently the occasions were memorable to him. A few yards away he pointed out a small rise of ground. That, he said, was the common grave of more than a dozen partisans shot in cold blood by the Nazis. A monument was to be erected there. Yet this man who spoke so movingly of the murdered partisans, who was so well informed about the United States and the Marshall Plan, told me that he, like most of his friends, was a member of the MSI. . . . There are many like him. Marshall Plan money has fed him at a subsistence level. Point Four has rebuilt the factories which employ him and cleared the streets of rubble. But the Fascist Party has fed his soul with dreams and promised fulfillment for his hopes. It should not surprise anyone that the MSI has emerged as one of the strongest parties in Italy.

Philadelphia, Pa. LOIS FORER

The GOP Slips Again?

● Most frequently used word at the Republican Convention: "spirituality." Watch your pockets when politicians wax "spiritual, ethical and religious." Like old and slipping salesmen, the Republicans seem to be talking themselves out of the Presidency for the fifth time—a tribute to the maturing political and common sense of the majority of Americans.

Chicago, Ill. SIDNEY BLACKSTONE

How Disloyal Was Lincoln?

● The apt and Attic appeal of Mr. Eugene Gressman in "How Disloyal was Thomas Jefferson" (*NR*, July 14) for an immediate posthumous investigation of the subversive opinions and utterances of Mr. Jefferson should alert our national political saviours to the present menace of his insidiously treasonable influence and impel appropriate punitive action.

Might not the scope of the investigation, however, be broadened to include a post mortem of the analogous "un-American" attitudes of another President of the United States? Our patrioteers could well scent subversion in this obviously deliberate public assertion of that arch seditionist and fellow traveler, Abraham Lincoln, in his second Inaugural Address. Dare the Un-American Activities Committee members suffer this to pass without a challenge? Here is Mr. Lincoln's open avowal:

> . . . This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. . . .

Was I mistaken in thinking I detected a suspicion of a smile of amusement, possibly perplexity, on the features of the Emancipator's portrait in Chicago's Convention Hall last week at the empty oratory of repeated invocation of his benediction upon reaction?

Grove City, Pa. MORGAN BARNES

McCarran vs. Jefferson

● In the 1860s and '70s when we needed cheap labor to exploit our abundant resources, build our railroads, and expand our industries, there were no restricted immigration quotas such as the McCarran-Walter law provides. We were proud, then, to be a refuge for the oppressed people of the Old World. Now we call these same immigrants "subversives," "security risks," etc.

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Convention Highlight

. . . a local embroidery shop reports it was commissioned to needle five stars onto the mattress on which General of the Army Douglas MacArthur will sleep.—*From the New York* Times.

Patience, Man

What effect has the Tee Veed convention had on local theater attendance? . . . in the words of the biggest chain [movie] manager polled yesterday, things are by no means down to expectations. —*From the Washington* Post.

Risky!

Incidentally, the bachelor Mr. Martin had an interesting experience in the late hours of the other night. He went to bed in his Blackstone hotel room and neglected to . . . lock his door.

He was awakened by the hotel detective . . . who implied, sinisterly, that female delegates were on the loose in the hotel and that a bachelor with White House possibilities shouldn't take such chances. —*From George Dixon "Washington Scene" in the Washington* Times-Herald.

Somebody to Bury?

Senator Taft about his organization in Ohio, in a talk with California delegates: "We're organized right down to the undertakers—'Diggers for Taft,' we call 'em." —*From the Chicago* Sun-Times.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — The Editors.

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New Republic

CONTENTS FOR JULY 28, 1952

5 The Liberal Democrats Take Their Stand An Editorial

6 The Week:

6 AFL Scores in Korea

6 State of the Economy

6 Byrd Flies High

6 FEPC with Teeth

7 More Trouble in Iran

7 Ike and the Old Guard

8 Steel the Price of Peace, by Harry Conn

10 Chiang's Tight Little Island, by Robert H. Sollen

13 Knights and Knaves in Eisenhower's Crusade

18 Literature and Arts:

18 *The Voyage Lies Within,* by Kimon Friar

19 R. Crossman, *New Fabian Essays,* by T. R. Fyvel

21 A. Wilder, *Modern Poetry and the Christian Tradition,* by S. Fitzgerald

22 W. Jordy, *Henry Adams: Scientific Historian,* by G. Johnson

22 *The Romantic Bach,* by Robert Evett

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE GREAT object in politics is to prevent things from happening. Issues should always be blurred; difficult decisions swept under the rug. A philosophical school has grown up praising and rationalizing this American system. It leaves the political parties pretty much alike so that only half the people bother to vote. Still better, it leaves a conservative coalition in charge in Congress that can defy the President and the popular will.

Taft wanted to force reactionary and isolationist issues in the GOP convention; though the great bulk of delegates secretly agreed with him, they followed the pattern of "not letting things happen" by nominating Eisenhower. Taft was the radical and he paid the penalty. It may have been a mistake. If Ike doesn't win this fall the embittered Taft element will be doubly strong. The trouble with postponing a showdown on issues too long is that they blow up in your face.

Now it's the Democrats' turn. North and South pull opposite ways. The political instinct here is to name nice old Barkley or some other caretaker. That would be the way to prevent things from happening. That would be to put a layer of coconut frosting over a crevasse a mile deep. If we are going to hedge, we would prefer thoughtful Governor Stevenson, who is a gentleman and a scholar. He would head a liberal coalition as contrasted with the conservative GOP. But there is something to be said every now and then for calling a spade a spade. Why shouldn't the liberal bulk of the Democrats under Kefauver or Harriman cut loose from the South and give some meaning to the campaign? Isn't it time that the blunted issues of American politics were clearly sharpened?

There's a fair to middling chance Truman will call a special session after the convention. Congress did a miserable job and left many things half done. In a sense calling Congress back is a political trick for not much is to be hoped in new legislation. But again it sharpens up issues. Truman started the unexpectedly successful 1948 race by calling his "turnip day" special session, and brought the legislators back frothing mad while he threw special messages at them. Now Congress is up for re-election again; it has neglected most New Deal legislation and anti-inflation controls and deserves to be shown up.

Several people ask what happened to the off-shore oil dispute involving $40 billions or more of taxpayers' assets? Truman vetoed this bill in which Congress, in effect, had tried to reverse the Supreme Court. But Congress was so eager to quit it never voted on over-riding the veto. So the veto stands. One objection to a special session is that Congress could still reconsider the oil bill though it seems unlikely. The balance of three conflicting Eisenhower statements on off-shore oil seems to be that, while he doesn't know much about it, he favors state control of the oil on general principles. If he is elected, the bulk of the taxpayers lose a property worth one-eighth of the total national debt.

Ike meanwhile has gone fishing. It is rather fun to see him having such a good time while zealous supporters like pundit Lippmann are imploring him for God's sake to take a quick mail-order course in the issues he must debate. It's too soon to predict yet, until we know the Democratic nominee; but a lot of things Ike has said seem rather silly so far and he may not be so hot as a campaigner. "Which of your three contradictory statements on off-shore oil do you stand by?" would, for example, be rather hard to answer we should think.

The pro-Eisenhower editorial chorus

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is beginning and it should be in good voice for the next three months. *Time* magazine, which is often a level-headed conservative weekly, was carried away and called the Dulles' foreign-affairs job a "realistic, knowing, crusading plan," Ike's unspecific acceptance speech "the best speech of his brief political career," and Nixon's nomination a triumph of "logic." It was interesting to see the NY *Times'* reaction, too. In a lengthy analysis praising the foreign plank the writers somehow manage to avoid any mention whatever of the key Dulles phrase calling America's containment policy "negative, futile and immoral." Then Times-man Callender cabled from Paris last Friday that Europe was disturbed by the attack and the plank as a whole. Next day Times-woman Anne O'Hare McCormick explained from Chicago that Europe shouldn't worry because the plank was written by Taft people. So now you have your choice: the plank is fine (editorial), it's dangerous (Callender), it's meaningless (McCormick). Anyway, Ike has a splendid smile and should be elected.

We are forming a Society to Abate Noise at Conventions. We want SANC particularly to note the situation when Ike was nominated—the amphitheatre organ was giving vast peals, the convention orchestra was playing *Dixie*, a floor band near us attacked a Sousa march, a more distant band was just going boomp-boomp-boomp with no tune, and the fellow at the microphone was shouting "I-like-Ike" over 40 loudspeakers. Experiences like that make a quiet fellow want to go out and join the Snail Watchers Society.

Notes: *Newsweek*, June 30, "Fifty Experts Now Pick Taft; Capital Newsmen Guess Taft, Knowland"; T.R.B., July 7, "We rather think it'll be Ike." . . . We hate to admit it but we've always had a sneaking fondness for Taft, he took his defeat in good part; only one lonely reporter met his plane coming into Washington. . . . If Ike loses we suspect Taft runs in '56 whatever he now thinks.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

Some of these security-happy Congressmen might do well to remember what happened when, in 1924, Congress forbade immigration from Oriental countries. Japan regarded this as an unfriendly act of discrimination, and it was to some extent a factor contributing toward our war with Japan.

Thomas Jefferson, in his first annual message December 8, 1801, said:

> . . . and shall we refuse the unhappy fugitives from distress that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our fathers arriving in this land? Shall oppressed humanity find no asylum on this globe? The Constitution, indeed, has wisely provided that, for admission to certain offices of important trust, a residence shall be required sufficient to develop character and design. But might not the general character and capabilities of a citizen be safely communicated to everyone manifesting a bona-fide purpose of embarking his life and fortunes permanently with us?

Most Southern Democrats voted for the McCarran Bill, and yet these same Southerners, particularly Senator Russell, like to call themselves "Jeffersonian Democrats." It might be a good idea for these anti-liberals to check up on the writings of the Sage of Monticello more closely.

St. Louis, Mo. MURRAY WEST

Correction

● My letter published in your June 2 issue comments on "Confucius: The Great Digest and the Unwobbling Pivot" and on its review by Kathleen Raine (not on "From Doctrine to Dictatorship" by G. D. H. Cole); still the letter could be titled "Doctrine for Tyranny."

Tokyo, Japan A. C. BLATT

Jefferson vs. Colonel McCormick

● Possibly just about the time Eugene Gressman was finishing "How Disloyal Was Thomas Jefferson?" (*NR*, July 14), James Carey, president of our International Union, was addressing the University of Virginia's Public Affairs Institute in Charlottesville.

What happened afterward should interest and possibly amuse you, because it almost robs his excellent article of any element of fantasy.

Carey . . . spoke on "The Presidency and the Rise of Organized Labor." (The week-long theme of the Institute was "Problems of the Presidency.")

In this address, delivered at the university Jefferson founded, Carey quoted rather liberally from Jefferson.

Exactly three days later Colonel McCormick's Chicago *Tribune* erupted with a lengthy and almost frenzied editorial suggesting that Carey should be indicted and jailed not only under the Smith Act, but also under the US criminal code for quoting Thomas Jefferson!

The timing of your *New Republic* piece, therefore, was almost clairvoyant.

LES FINNEGAN, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers

Washington, D.C.

Free *Tribune* Subscriptions

● I thought that your readers would be interested in knowing that the "progressive" Chicago *Tribune* is offering, free of charge, several thousand subscriptions to Navy personnel whose homes are in the Middle West. The subscriptions will be underwritten by Middle Western business and professional men.

After reading the *Tribune's* editorials I am afraid I can't see true altruism in this gesture.

I wonder if Eastern business and professional men would underwrite several thousand gift subscriptions of the *New Republic* or *Nation* magazine to Navy personnel whose homes are on or near the Eastern seaboard. . . .

Newport, R.I. RICHARD T. LABRECQUE

Deutschland Uber Alles

● It was with real appreciation that I read Percy Winner's evaluation of neo-Nazi conditions in Germany. But there was definitely one "skeleton in his closet" with which I would like to take issue.

Winner feels that "one of the disquieting elements about the direction in which the West Germans are moving is the reappearance of a press which screams the first and not the third verse of *Deutschland Uber Alles*, which nakedly proclaims the Hitlerite word of command and arrogantly beats the big drum of the old militarists. . . . Allow me to quote Dorothy Thompson on the real meaning of a verse that is about one hundred years older than Hitler. . . . Miss Thompson wrote in her column on April 17, 1950:

> "*Deutschland Uber Alles* was a cry for country over kings, and for the democratic unity of all Germans in an indivisible nation, dearer than all else in the world." This concept caused its author (Hoffman von Fallersleben) to be arrested for *lese majeste*, and those who sang it flee to Switzerland, England and Wisconsin against reaction. It was never the national anthem of the Kaiser's Germany. . . . When the first German republic was created at Weimar, following World War I, . . . it made *Deutschland Uber Alles* the anthem of the new republic. As I recall it, it was the first Socialist president of the republic, Fritz Ebert, who suggested it.

Los Angeles, Calif. HANS A. ILLING

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New Republic

THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATS TAKE THEIR STAND

THE DEMOCRATS, like the Republicans, have found vitality in conflict. The conflict which first divided the Democratic National Convention came on the issue of majority rules. It makes clear the lines of cleavage within the party and the fundamental strength and integrity of its liberal segment.

The clash came on much the same kind of "Fair Play" amendment as the Eisenhower forces fought for in the Republican National Convention three weeks ago. This time, however, the question concerned not only the right of contested delegations to vote on their own cases on the floor, but more importantly on the right of the national convention to require state delegations to pledge support of the nominees and of the platform agreed upon by the majority.

It was in 1936 that Franklin Roosevelt quietly broke the veto-hold of the South over the rest of the party by prodding the convention to repeal the Two-Thirds Rule. Since then the men who speak for one-tenth of Southern voters have sought to re-establish their veto power over the party. First, the Southern delegations strove to reimpose the Two-Thirds Rule for convention voting. When they failed they turned to political blackmail. Secondly, they threatened to withhold their electoral votes if the nominee or the platform were objectionable to the South.

In 1948, liberal Democrats were sufficiently angered by Southern attempts to dictate the platform and lead a spontaneous and victorious drive for a strong civil-rights plank in the platform. But the walk-out which followed the adoption of that plank and the subsequent bolt of four Southern states from the Democratic side in November caught the liberals unprepared. The Southerners returned to hold their power. And, in the four years since the last campaign, they gave Fair Deal Democrats full opportunity to taste the fruits of Southern defection. Voting with conservative Republicans in total disregard for the Democratic platform and commitments they reduced to meaningless phrases the urgent requests of their own party chief.

As the 1952 Democratic convention assembled, therefore, the South posed the dominant problem. Faced with the formidable opposition ticket of Eisenhower and Nixon, many old heads in Democratic councils preached the need for "unity." Several Southern states including Mississippi and Texas, the only two to send rival delegations to Chicago, drew up even more elaborate schemes and threats for evading majority rule: they held their state conventions in recess for the period of the national convention and voted to reassemble after the Chicago session so that they might determine, at that time, which course they would follow.

"Moderate" Southern spokesmen pled with their Northern colleagues to "compromise" on the language of the platform to prevent another walk-out on the ground that only in this way could any substantial part of the South be held against Eisenhower. These "moderate" Southerners went so far as to agree to accept the 1948 civil-rights plank in substance—if the liberals would stop there.

The temptations were great. Fair Deal candidates were offered Southern support for nomination in return for compromising on the platform and accepting a Southerner for Vice-President. Younger liberals were approached as possible Vice-Presidential material on a compromise or "receivership" ticket to be headed by Alben Barkley. In the pre-convention meetings of the Credentials Committee, the full influence of National Committee Chairman Frank McKinney and the coterie around him was thrown to the Dixiecrat contenders for the delegate seats from Mississippi and Texas in direct contradiction of the stated wishes of President Truman. Presumably one or the other of the competing liberal candidates for the Presidency could have increased his convention strength by going along with McKinney and those in charge of the convention machinery.

It will be to the lasting credit of the liberal groups headed by Averell Harriman and Estes Kefauver and the forces captained by Paul Douglas and Hubert Humphrey that at the critical times they put aside rivalry to ally themselves on principles. Together they agreed to come to the support of the loyal Democratic delegation from Mississippi and Texas and to lead a crusade to make majority rule permanent and binding on national conventions by requiring pledges of party loyalty as condition of recognition of any state organization. Together they determined to oppose the subtle strategy of a group of political fixers and straddlers led by Senate Secretary Leslie Biffle, Frank McKinney, former Chairman William O. Boyle, former Sen. "Happy" Chandler and former Democratic National Chairman James A. Far-

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ley. These men sought to condemn the party to certain defeat by the nomination of 74-year-old Alben Barkley.

Some simply preferred a defeat which would leave them in the positions of party power to victory under conditions which would break their hold and destroy their sinecures. Others, such as Farley, who left the New Deal for positions of business power, are open to the unpleasant charge of working for the nomination of the weakest possible Democratic nominee to aid the election of Eisenhower. The united liberals at Chicago —with the exception of one wing of the supporters of Gov. Adlai Stevenson who were immobilized because of a private deal between Jake Arvey and certain Southern leaders—rejected compromise.

If the result is the nomination of any one of the leaders of this courageous drive and the adoption of a progressive platform, the liberal alliance which can win a Democratic victory is already in the making. Regardless of the outcome of this convention, however, the actions at Chicago in the opening days of the 1952 session are a tribute to the vitality of American liberalism.

THE WEEK

AFL SCORES IN KOREA

If the key issue of voluntary repatriation of prisoners of war in Korea is finally resolved and hostilities are ended in that war-torn country, the American Federation of Labor and its Free Trade Union Committee will merit considerable credit. On May 23, the Free Trade Union Committee, under the leadership of Jay Lovestone, issued a release in which it declared that Communist negotiators at Panmumjom, in opposing voluntary repatriation, were violating the Soviet Union position in World War II supporting it as an act of "greatest humanitarianism."

The US State Department studied and substantiated the facts in the release. One month ago Chief United Nations negotiator, Maj.-Gen. William K. Harrison Jr. exploded it on the Communist negotiators. Reportedly, top Communist negotiator, Lt.-Gen. Nam Il, was startled into a complete but momentary silence. He quickly recovered his composure to argue that there is a substantial difference in the two cases: the Russians had been victorious in World War II while the UN is not victorious in Korea.

STATE OF THE ECONOMY

Since 1950 the US national product has been zooming upward at the rate of 6 percent each year, according to figures in President Truman's Mid-Year Economic Report. This phenomenal economic gain has boosted output from the rate of $300 billion a year after Korea to the current rate of $340 billion a year.

In analyzing the President's report, critics can show that the lion's share of the last two years, production increase has been due directly to the government's war orders. Of the $40 billion increase, $30 billion has gone to military buying and construction. But for those who wanted them there have been annually two million new washing machines, two million new refrigerators and four million television sets. Nor are these gadgets denied to very many because of the monetary phenomenon of the decline of the dollar, the President claims: "The number of dollars in the hands of the people has increased much more rapidly than the decline of the value of the single dollar."

Thus the report is a fighting platform with which Democratic candidates will be able to go to the people to prove that with high taxes and a "55-cent dollar" they are still better off.

BYRD FLIES HIGH

Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Virginia's contribution to the Dixiecrat-GOP coalition in the US Senate, has again displayed conclusive evidence that his machine, rich in patronage, strongly controls his state's political affairs. He was decisively renominated to a fourth term over the stout opposition of liberal Francis Pickens Miller. One out of six potentially qualified voters trooped to the polls, ironically establishing a new total-vote record.

The victory left Virginia's supposedly revitalized Republican Party in a familiar quandry. There were few issues on which they could oppose Byrd's candidacy. There were strong indications that they would not oppose him in November at all.

The anti-Byrd factions in the Democratic Party did emerge with some victories. Rep. Porter Hardy Jr., was renominated from the second district, which include the industrial city of Norfolk. And in the newly created Tenth District, near Washington, D. C., liberal Edmund D. Campbell, rode to victory over three opponents.

The next big battle against the Byrd machine will be in the gubernatorial race in 1953.

FEPC WITH TEETH

A Connecticut judge, Abraham S. Brodon of the Superior Court, has handed down one of the first court rulings on the powers of a state Fair Employment Practices Commission. Judge Brodon's decision upheld an order by the state's Commission on Civil Rights forcing the AFL Electrical Workers Union to admit qualified Negro applicants. The union officials had excluded Negroes from membership by requiring them first to work as apprentices and, after a certain period, to find a union employer who would be willing to sponsor them for membership. The Negroes testified that they were never hired as apprentices. Nor could they find an employer who would sponsor them.

Judge Brodon charged that "it's a vicious circle which excludes Negroes

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from employment as well as union membership. And yet employer and union alike can by this device plead freedom from discrimination while actually practicing it." He warned that should the union continue its discriminatory practice, its officers could be cited for contempt and could face penalty of fines and jail sentences. The proceedings against the Electrical Workers is the first one under the Connecticut FEPC law, passed in 1949.

MORE TROUBLE IN IRAN

The initial public remarks of the new Iranian prime minister, Ahmad Ghavam, gladdened the hearts of many American editorial writers and officials who have been keeping an anxious eye on that country. Referring to Dr. Mossadegh, his predecessor, Ghavam expressed criticisms roughly similar to those felt here. "The oil issue has plunged the country into anarchy . . . such tactlessness was shown that ends were sacrificed to means . . . " Then he promised to establish order even if it meant severe repressions against nationalist rioters and to seek an end to the stalemate with Britain.

Ghavam's constructive program is boldly counter-revolutionary in a country seething with revolutionary frenzy. Ghavam to Iranians is the epitome of the oligarchy which they have sought to repudiate. His program of settling the fruitless oil despute sounds very sensible in the West. But Iranians know him as one of the group of politicians who have for decades worked with the British; and they are in no mood to examine the details of his record.

The test of whether Ghavam will be able to install a traditional strong-man regime is even now being held in cities all over Iran. Mossadegh's supporters are rioting, and have promised to use all means to destroy the "traitor." It is very doubtful whether Ghavam will long be able to stay in power. His return to power had only served to focus the emotionalism which became diffuse during Mossadegh's recent months in office. His recipe of fighting with fire does not consider the amount of political explosive nearby.

IKE AND THE OLD GUARD

Whether or not Western Europe's material interests are well served by the result of the US Presidential election, it is clear that the campaign already has a serious psychological effect on the huge capital of goodwill gathered by the man who has been the Western Europeans' favorite American since the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

That man is of course Dwight David Eisenhower. He had millions of friends. But many of these friends, the ones who most warmly liked Ike the General, have reluctantly been forced to acquire reservations about Ike the candidate. His conduct and statements have been disappointing. And his apparent willingness to surround himself with the wrong colleagues who threaten to become his masters has been disturbing to those Europeans who were grateful for his past services to the Free World.

It seems to these Europeans that the price of Eisenhower's victory in Chicago and afterward has been servitude. The liberator of the new Europe has been imprisoned by the Old Guard of the Republican Party. When Eisenhower left Europe, the anti-Communist Left in all the free countries thought him *the* authentic US hero of the "resistance" to all forces of tyranny. The *Franc-Tireur* of Paris, commented bitterly: "Whatever may have been the merits of the General, the political leader whom he has become is not on our side. . . . Eisenhower is now the candidate of a coalition in which the reactionaries and neo-isolationists overwhelm the liberals."

The *Times* of London found that in Eisenhower's acceptance speech "there was something flabby—as there has been in all his speeches—both in its structure and delivery" and that he "has not yet shown the qualities that make a victorious candidate." On the other hand, the *Times* feared that in his possible victory he might bring into office with him "reactionaries whose sympathies lie to the Right of even Taft's" and, far worse, "isolationists who will sabotage their leader's international program." If the platform had teeth, the *Times* said that they were "false."

The *Monde* of Paris said of this:

> In regard to foreign affairs, Europeans must wonder—not without anxiety—to what extent Eisenhower will have freedom of action at the head of a party which frantically acclaims MacArthur and Hoover. . . . It is natural that Europeans should worry . . . they fear that an eventual President Eisenhower may have even greater difficulty than his predecessor had in containing the advocates of a policy of crusade and adventures.

Almost universally in the moderate Western European press, the choice of Senator Nixon as the General's running mate was considered unfortunate. A few commentators thought it might help the GOP but might bring the US-type of political witch-hunting to the Western European countries. The ultra-conservative Figaro of Paris said: " . . . It seems that Nixon will be called upon to play [on the Old Guard's behalf] in the election campaign the decisive role played by General Patton in the 'military' crusade in Europe."

What hurt Eisenhower most was the over-heated excitement which he brought to his formula of the "total crusade." Level-headed Europeans have always sheered away from excessive emotionality in their statesmen's temperaments; they cling to Disraeli's formula that "enthusiasm is a quality which ought never to be possessed by an Archbishop of Canterbury or a Prime Minister."

For the French, Eisenhower's prize boner was his statement that the French have "gone astray" because "they have 50 percent of their people agnostics or atheists" and that "their moral fibre has disintegrated."

The French hold that reason, in their *tradition,* is at least as important as "crusading faith in an age of confusion and tension." One French writer recalled that Eisenhower, 10 years ago, did not require Frenchmen to make a declaration of religious faith before risking their lives in the common cause of freedom. And "some Frenchmen were so broad-minded that they did not protest when a little white cross was set up on the little piece of earth where their moral fibre rests, finally disintegrated."

PERCY WINNER

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STEEL: THE PRICE OF PEACE

by Harry Conn

As the nationwide strike of 600,000 CIO Steelworkers moves into its eighth week, the differences between the union and the companies have been dissolved almost to the point of transparency. A settlement can be expected almost any time because the industry has already achieved the purpose of its "strike" against the government: assurance of a substantial price increase.

For months everyone has known that the major issue in the strike has been the price of steel. A substantial price boost meant another painful turn in the inflationary spiral. Charles Wilson resigned from his post as Defense Mobilizer when he failed to obtain consent to the increase and President Truman steadfastly supported the group opposing price increases headed by Economic Stabilizer Roger Putnam and Price Stabilizer Ellis Arnall. Their stand was that the Office of Price Stabilization regulations permitted the major steel companies only an increase of less than $3 a ton—under the Capehart Amendment to the Defense Production Act—and they did not feel that the national economy should be burdened with a further increase.

For months the pressures on the stabilization agencies to accede to industry demands have been overpowering. The effect of the strike on our economy and on our defense program created much of the pressure. Members of Congress have used their influence to secure a higher price. Representatives of powerful special-interest groups, fearful that any increase to their own employees would need to come out of profits, have demanded higher steel prices. However, Putnam and Arnall stood pat.

Finally, to no one's surprise, Acting Defense Mobilizer John R. Steelman intervened. He assured the steel companies that they could depend on full price relief. Reportedly, the price he is willing to set is in the neighborhood of $5.60 a ton or just about twice what the industry could charge under prevailing regulations.

This price increase in steel, when added to the general scuttling of effective price controls by Congress, will be reflected in prices of all consumers' goods unless the rules of economics have been drastically altered.

It might be recalled that those who opposed the Wage Stabilization Board recommendations in the steel-wage case said that if the recommendations were granted, they would establish a new wage pattern. The majority of the Board members vigorously denied this, saying that the steelworkers were merely entitled to receive benefits which other industrial workers now have. There are many indications that this steel settlement will establish a pattern—not for wage increases, however, but for price increases.

The contract recently signed between the Aluminum Company of America and AFL Aluminum Workers is an example. It calls for a general wage increase of 10 percent which can only be granted if the OPS agrees to a request of Alcoa for price relief; this settlement depends on the outcome of the steel strike. The brief filed by Alcoa asks for a two-cent increase to the 19-cent-per-pound price of aluminum. Yet economists recognize that the actual labor-cost increase to Alcoa will be in the neighborhood of only one-tenth of one cent.

Even with the steel-price increase assured there has been no settlement to date. Why? This question was asked of a top CIO official. His answer:

> I'll be damned if I know. We seem to be dealing with so many irrational factors and irrational people that nothing seems to make sense any more. There are a series of minute points that we just have not been able to iron out.

Much confusion in the steel settlement surrounds the union-shop issue. Many believe that this issue was created as a tool for bargaining and that now the industry is stuck with it. Most of the steel companies are operating under union-shop agreements with some of their employees, but the industry needed such a moral issue to hold ground until they had received the assurance on price relief. The union-shop issue was the issue steel chose.

In the most recent negotiation with Bethlehem Steel, union officials proposed a modified union-shop contract. It provided that new employees could write the management a letter between 15 and 30 days after hiring stating their desire not to join the union. However, the proposal—which is as great a compromise as the union says it will accept—was completely confused after two days of bickering over whether the letter should be sent to management, to the union or to both. It came to naught.

Even if Bethlehem had favored this form of union-shop arrangement—and many observers believe that they did—they would not be able to sign an agreement with the Steelworkers until five other major steel producers had also accepted the pact. In this light the union filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board against the six companies for violating the Taft-Hartley Act. The charge is that each company "has entered into a con-

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spiracy and combination with the other major companies in the steel industry to prevent collective bargaining."

The six companies—US Steel, Bethlehem, Republic, Jones and Laughlin, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, and Inland Steel—which control two-thirds of the nation's steel production have countered the charge with the cry of "ridiculous." They justify their actions on the basis that industry-wide bargaining is permitted:

> If the law permits a single union to control the negotiations of an entire industry and to shut it down at will, it is inconceivable that the law prohibits joint negotiations by the companies in the industry.

The union's charges against the companies were formally lodged with the Labor Relations Board after President Truman had accused the steel industry of "a conspiracy against the public interest." The President said that he understood there are many smaller companies ready to sign with the union which have not signed "because pressure is being put on them by other companies." To date only a handful of smaller companies, with less than 60,000 workers, have signed with the union.

There may be other reasons for the strike, now lacking basic issues, to continue. Unquestionably, the steel companies still hope to break the strike and aid a back-to-work movement. The conservative press has been playing this line, contributing their bit to weakening Phil Murray's powerful union. Last week David Lawrence's *US News and World Report,* said:

> There are signs that workers are losing some of the urge to strike. That's especially true when wages are not the issue. It doesn't take long for high prices to eat up a worker's surplus, if any. That's when he wonders if strikes are worth it.

Admittedly, the pinch is felt by the workers and probably some wives are restless. Still, there are no reports of any organized discontents or any back-to-work movements. Union officials have stressed that the strike is as strong as ever and only token picket lines are being maintained.

Meanwhile, the full impact of this strike is being felt down to the very marrow of the economy and may well reach the critical proportions predicted by President Truman when he seized the mills last May. In the neighborhood of 500,000 workers in industries dependent upon steel are now estimated to be out of work and the production of some military goods is seriously affected.

Supplies of certain sizes, shapes and types of alloy steel are still plentiful for the warehouses are well stocked. Others are in critical supply: tanks, freight cars and aircraft parts essential to the defense effort, are particularly short. Production of these items may be halted by the end of the month.

Significantly enough, some other critical defense items are largely unaffected by the strike. Aircraft frames, for example, should continue on schedule with some four-months steel supply still available in the warehouses largely because aircraft production has lagged so far behind schedule to the great concern of defense officials. Ammunition production, also reported lagging, has not been affected to date.

In the field of civilian goods, automobile production has been the hardest hit. Unemployment among auto workers began in the last few weeks and is not yet reflected in unemployment-compensation claims. But Chrysler, alone, is shutting down all of its Michigan plants which will affect some 68,000 workers. Ford Motor Company has already shut down its numerous assembly lines over the nation and General Motors has been forced to lay off thousands.

Even such an industry seemingly as removed from the steel strike as textiles has been affected. The decrease in automobile production has already seriously affected shafers and headlinings, upholstery fabrics and burlaps. The flow of sheetings, filter-cloths and canvas have been reduced by cutbacks of industries over the nation.

There seems to be little question that, as serious as the strike is today, the full force may not be felt until after an agreement has been reached. Defense Production Administrator Henry H. Fowler stressed this point early this month:

> It should be noted that even after production begins, thousands of steel users cannot have their requirements met overnight, regardless of the urgency of their needs. Many plants will have to wait weeks for the delivery of steel before their turn comes. . . . Even if the [steel] plants operate at maximum capacity for the rest of the year, if the strike ended tomorrow [July 4, 1952], we would have as a nation about 99 million tons of steel for the year 1952 which is approximately six million tons less than we produced in 1951.

This has been the price of the steel strike: lost by the union, lost by the government and won only by the steel industry. Whether steel management won through its own deeply rooted power or through innate business shrewdness, it has proved itself far bigger and tougher than the combined forces of the government, the union and the public.

The government has sued for peace. The only question is whether or not the price of settlement might be far greater than the cost of the strike itself—at least as the consumer is affected.

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CHIANG'S TIGHT LITTLE ISLAND

by Robert H. Sollen

NATIONALIST administration in its shrunken sphere on Formosa is about as free from sin as it has been since before World War II. This indicates progress, but does not give the Chiang Kai-shek regime a certificate for sterling integrity.

No one—Chinese or American—dares claim that democracy's flag flies here. Few claim that it could or should. Apologists remind you that a state of war exists between the Nationalists and the Communists on the mainland, less than 100 miles away; that the Formosans have never experienced democracy and are not yet prepared for it; that more freedom is granted now than ever before to the Formosans or by the Nationalists.

Even if you accept these explanations, much room remains for discussion over whether sufficient freedoms are granted even under the stresses and strains of war and public ignorance and indifference.

The American Government has found the Nationalists wanting in several fields of democratic operation. Responsible Chinese have found likewise. They are cooperating to bring the society as close to democracy as possible so that the Nationalist flag can finally be waved before the free world with some positive meaning.

When the Nationalist regime was forced to confine itself to Formosa, it was obliged to cope with a widespread Communist-spy network which had preceded the government here from the mainland. The Nationalist Government organized secret police such as they operated on the mainland, and claim to have succeeded in wiping out the greater part of the Communist espionage activity. The secret police are as active as ever, however.

One system operates under the army's political section. This section has broad authority and responsibility in the fields of education, indoctrination, recreation, psychological warfare, counter-espionage, morale and other fields of mental health and mental purification. The work of this unit is legally confined to the army, but its influence is said to extend to the schools.

Another secret-police force is attached to the Ministry of National Defense. This unit is officially charged with purely military responsibilities, but it too often reaches out into the civilian population where arrests are made without knowledge of civil authorities.

The Provincial Peace Preservation Police also handles anti-espionage and anti-sabotage work. This force is officially under Gov. K. C. Wu. It has so often by-passed its provincial superiors and acted under the national government direction, however, that Governor Wu has threatened to resign over the issue. Wu has exercised considerable influence in wresting non-military jurisdiction from the military courts. Too many cases not involving the military or the national security were being heard in secret by military tribunals.

Another major secret-police organization is the Generalissimo's own secret service. These four, together with perhaps as many more smaller units, take care of what is broadly described here as counter-espionage.

The American Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) had investigated the military secret-police system. It reported that the system was not as sinister as some of the most devastating rumors claimed, but was nevertheless short on responsible procedure.

The Mutual Security Agency (China Mission) in a draft of its March report, pointed out that "the rule of law [on Formosa] is not yet an established practice." It also reported that:

—Tradition, expediency and security have combined to give the political effect of both a regimented state and a democracy.

—Chiang Kai-shek, president of the Nationalist Government and director-general of the Kuomintang, still wields predominant influence through the army and the national and provincial governments.

—The influence of the Kuomintang still is great. Government appointments must be approved by the Kuomintang, and the party or its government counterparts extend into primary schools and all local government units.

These MSA China Mission comments were deleted from the published report to MSA in Washington. But reporters who saw the original draft were given permission by MSA to use the comments as official, even after the final and shortened report was published.

In the national and provincial governments, the Kuomintang is, in effect, without opposition. The two other recognized parties are the Democratic Socialists and the Young China Party, both carry-overs from the mainland. Neither party appears to have leadership, vision, organization, enthusiasm or a platform which in any real way differs from that of the Kuomintang.

The two minor parties have about 16 members each in the 773-seat national legislature. The Kuomintang holds about two-thirds of the seats now filled, and the

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rest are held by independents who also toe the Kuomintang line.

No election for members of the national legislature (legislative yuan) has been held since the government came to Formosa. The terms of the members expired in May, 1951, but were extended by Chiang, on the claim that no valid election can be held for a legislature claiming to represent all of China if the election is confined to one island province.

The Kuomintang wins most of the local elections because of its overwhelming position in the government, its tremendous propaganda-outlet advantage, and because of some less scrupulous influence. Gains made for the people, largely through American aid, are winning friends for the party at the polls in many districts. Probably the biggest advantage the party has, however, is the lack of competent popular candidates opposing the Kuomintang candidates.

The provincial legislature is elected by the municipal and district assemblies which are in turn elected directly by the people. The party explains that indirect elections are preferable because they cost less, the people and the candidates prefer it that way, and they do not take away from the representative character of the provincial legislature. Indirect elections, of course, also leave the Kuomintang less election machinery to maneuver.

Provincial commissioners (department heads) and the provincial governor are appointed by the national government, meaning the party. Election of provincial executives awaits the end of the "war."

Does the party intend to grant universal suffrage if it comes back into power on the mainland? Party spokesmen say that universal suffrage is the goal, but that a period of "education" will be necessary before full and free elections could be held. Communist indoctrination, they explain, must be undone before the ballot can be free. An attempt is being made to train more Formosans for public and private leadership, and an increasing number of islanders are being added to the public payroll. Few are in policy-making positions in the national government, however.

The party recognizes what Americans mean by "reactionary" and wants to shake the description. Party leaders talk of the changes achieved since the Kuomintang was largely made up of landlords, bureaucrats and "other reactionaries." Today they point to the youth, the farmers, the workers, who have been recruited into the party. But the party has nowhere moved into a political position which a Westerner might describe as progressive or democratic.

Because the people are inexperienced at participating in their government, and because they are preoccupied with making a living, they are not up in arms about lack of democratic principles. Freedom of speech is enjoyed by all who don't have "Communist tendencies." Farmers speak freely about the evils of the national and provincial government farm policies, and even about American errors. Other islanders speak less freely against the government, mostly because they haven't thought much about public policy. Taxes are too high, they tell you.

For those advocating Communism in Formosa, the firing squad is available. Executions of groups of three to six Communists agents are reported at fairly frequent intervals. Even possession of Communist literature is prohibited. Those who are found with Communist literature and can explain that their interest is merely academic are not prosecuted, but they are watched. Marxism is discussed in the schools on an "academic" level.

Newspapers are either Kuomintang organs or dependent on the government for rationed newsprint. No opposition newspapers are published on the island and no Communist papers from the mainland are allowed entry. Foreign correspondents' copy is not censored, but certain news is suppressed. For example when several Nationalist officers were killed recently in an air crash, the government decided it would not look good to have the item reported, particularly because the plane was being used for a non-military, private purpose.

This fall compulsory military training will be introduced into high schools, colleges and the National Taiwan University. This will give the army further access to the minds of the youth. Girls will not be exempt from "military" training. Their training will be in such fields as nursing, but they will be available for political education.

During the last year many of the military burdens of the Nationalists have been assumed by the United States through its Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) under Maj.-Gen. William Chase. MAAG is administrating a program which this fiscal year has an estimated $200 million in United States funds available to it. By keeping close watch on the use of American military-aid supplies, MAAG determines quite accurately the efficiency and honesty of recipients.

The counter-attack against the Communists is talked up here like the Rose Bowl game is discussed in Wisconsin before the season opens. But American officials oppose the world's being led to believe that the ill-prepared troops are ready to take the offensive again in the Chinese civil war.

The Air Force and Navy are totally non-effective when compared with the fantastic hopes and dreams of the

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Nationalists. The Army amounts to 500,000 men at best. The troops have finished modern basic training, but have not gone far beyond that. Their experience on the mainland was in "semi-primitive" warfare, Chinese and American brass admit. The next Communist Army which the Nationalists would be likely to meet will be a modern, well-equipped fighting force.

Army reorganization is built around increased firepower which in turn depends on American supplies. Equipment is short, however, and United States aid supplies are slow in arriving. The Chinese would just as soon slow up such reorganization until they see the supplies land.

Chinese military leadership is weak. MAAG believes it has potentialities, but needs much more training in modern warfare. With MAAG's help, three levels of officers schools are being set up. But there are no commissions for those who don't get through at least the bottom level (Army academy). Some softening of this policy may be forthcoming, however, as debate rages over whether experienced or educated officers are the best leaders in the field.

In connection with future hostilities, the official Nationalist Line is that with United States firmness, a third world war can be avoided; that with only naval and air support and supplies from the United States, the Nationalist troops can take back the mainland. Many Nationalists, however, are frankly looking and hoping for a third world war, knowing that they need full American commitment and approval for the mainland offensive.

Chinese rule has seen worse days here. The MSA reports that "the Chinese administration in the first two years after the war was such that the Japanese occupation in retrospect became an era of order and prosperity."

To show the world they are capable and worthy of occupying the mainland again after their failure of the late 1940s, the Nationalists have to look good on the little territory they still hold. If Formosa goes, there's nothing left. So they co-operate willingly with the United States which is spending much to build up Formosa's economy and Army and to gain friends for the Nationalist Government.

It doesn't mean that Formosa's standard of living is lush to rate it one of the highest in the Far East. Food is abundant. The islanders are housed better and healthier than the Japanese, and are somewhat better clothed. But it takes close budgeting to cope with high prices. The cost of living has shot up 30 percent the last year.

Farm production is booming, largely through the efforts of the Sino-American Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, an affiliate of the Mutual Security Agency (formerly ECA). JCRR, under its three Chinese and two American commissioners, spends comparatively little money—about $4 million a year—and gets big results. The commission has been concentrating largely on programs producing fast results.

Last year, for instance, it loaned one million dollars for 22 irrigation projects. The increase in yield for the first crop affected by the projects was valued at more than twice the amount of the loan. Repayment of the loan is on schedule. The commission subsidized an improved rice-seed project with $390,000. The improved seed was given to 8,000 farmers who increased the value of their yield in a few years by 10 times the amount of the JCRR investment.

Land-rent and tenure-reform were initiated by the provincial government with JCRR's encouragement and assistance. In the spring of 1949, Gen. Chen Cheng, then provincial governor, started the program that limits rents to 37.5 percent of the main crop. This was a sizable drop from the 40-, 50- and 70-percent rents then being gouged out of the hapless tenants. Prior to 1949, tenants bid against each other for rental lands. This made rents high, tenancy insecure and incentive meager. Leases are now drawn according to government standards and registered with the government. The three-year leases drawn up in 1949 have been extended another three years by the provincial government.

The next major phase of the program gets tested this fall when the government attempts to buy up about 72,000 acres of land from the big landlords. The land will be sold to tenants for 37.5 percent of the major crop for 10 years.

Most of what improvement has occurred on Formosa in the last three years can be attributed to US aid and influence. The Americans—the colonels and the irrigation experts—are supposed to be here in an advisory capacity. Less officially they regard their work as an "island experiment" in the use of technical, economic and military techniques to bolster up a weak regime. The question of how jealous, often short-sighted Nationalist officials can co-operate with firm, powerful US consultants is probably dependent upon factors not controllable from Chiang's tight little island.

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Knights and Knaves in Eisenhower's Great Crusade

BEFORE the Republican Convention on July 11, General Eisenhower accepted what he conceived to be a summons to lead "a great crusade for freedom in America and freedom in the world. . . . The aims of this Republican crusade are clear," Eisenhower added, "to give to our country a program of progressive policies . . . to unite us . . . to strengthen freedom . . . to build a sure foundation for sound prosperity for all here at home and for a just and sure peace in our world.

"To achieve these aims," Eisenhower concluded, "we must have . . . a Republican majority in the United States Senate." Today, in the United States Senate, there are 46 Republicans and 50 Democrats. To win a majority the Republicans must gain three Senate seats.

Four Republicans, in Maine, Vermont, Nebraska and South Dakota, seem assured of re-election. Six Democrats, in Florida, Mississippi, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia seem certain to win. That means that 24 contests, in which 16 Republican seats and eight Democratic seats are in doubt will prove decisive in 1952. The Democrats hope to pick up seats in Missouri, Montana, Nevada, Utah and Washington. They are fighting hard in Wisconsin, Delaware and Massachusetts and also in New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Indiana. The Republicans thus have little choice in strategy. They must hold all the seats they now possess; and they must pick up three Democratic Senate seats.

For Eisenhower the dilemma is obvious. He will be called on to tour the 24 states praising the Republican candidates, and lambasting the Democrats. Can he do this and still win the eight million independent voters? Can he do this and still claim to be leading "a great crusade for freedom in America and in the world?"

Eisenhower is the world's Number-One Harmonizer. But the facts suggest that the answer to both questions is *no*.

UNDER WHOSE BANNER?

On Gen. George Marshall

EISENHOWER: "Marshall's rapid absorption of the fundamentals of action, his decisiveness and his utter refusal to entertain any thought of failure infused the whole War Department with energy and confidence . . . he would have been as pre-eminent in field work as he was in the complicated duties he encountered in Washington . . . " — From *Crusade in Europe*.

JENNER: "General Marshall is not only willing, he is eager to play the role of a front man for traitors. The truth is that this is no new role for him. Gen. George C. Marshall is a living lie."

MCCARTHY: "Quite apart from the destructive nature of his [Marshall's] public acts since the beginning of World War II, I ask in all gravity whether a man so steeped in falsehood, who has recourse to the lie whenever it suits his convenience, is fit to hold so exalted a place?"

On NATO

EISENHOWER: "The NATO organization foresees and plans for the common defense of the free world."

WATKINS: "The [NATO] Treaty violates the Constitution."

KEM: "A sink-hole for untold billions of the money of American taxpayers."

On Troops to Europe

EISENHOWER: "I believe that it is essential to have the transfer of certain of our units . . . so that there would be a going forward together and no suspicion one of the other."

ECTON: "We are not bound morally or legally to send troops to Europe. No cries of isolationism will change my attitude towards the utter senselessness of . . . [this] non-existent plan. . . ."

On the Marshall Plan

EISENHOWER: "When I came back to Europe in January, 1951, after the ECA had been conceived and operating, the difference in spirit . . . was little short of miraculous."

KEM: "A dumping chute for hundreds of millions of dollars making no contribution at all to effective European recovery."

JENNER: "With every day that passes this Marshall Plan becomes more of a fraud and a swindle."

MALONE: "An amazingly brazen and preposterous scheme."

On Philip Jessup

EISENHOWER: "No one who has known you can for a moment question the depth or sincerity of your devotion to the principles of Americanism."

MCCARTHY: "We have proven not only a great affinity for Communist causes [on Jessup's part] but a great affinity for Communist associates and a great affinity for Communist money."

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Ohio: John W. Bricker, running for re-election, is a one-time America Firster and a leader of the Old Guard. He ranks 86th out of 95 Senators on the political scientists' poll (*NR* March 3, 1952).

John W. Bricker

Bricker was the principal front for the lobbies in their efforts to destroy price and rent controls. He has opposed all measures to expand public-power and flood-control programs. He voted to uphold filibustering, and to offset a Supreme Court ruling by legislation insuring segregated schools in the South. At the same time he used civil rights in an effort to block all public housing. His amendment, described as "a political trick" by the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* "would have defeated the whole housing program" according to Sen. Paul Douglas.

A housing expert, Charles Abrams, pointed out that if successful, Bricker's amendment would have become "the forerunner of a whole series of efforts to use the civil-rights issue as an instrument for killing off civil reforms."

Bricker voted against Selective Service, supported by Eisenhower. He voted against the confirmation of Eisenhower's friend General Marshall as Secretary of Defense. He voted against UMT, endorsed by the Joint Chiefs, in 1951. He voted to limit Eisenhower's forces in Europe to four divisions and to compel the Joint Chiefs to certify that full air cover was available before sending any troops. He voted against the final resolution authorizing troops for Eisenhower's command on April 4, 1951. He was one of four Senators who opposed final passage of the Mutual Security Act, endorsed by Eisenhower. He voted to cut the Air Force from 58 to 48 groups in 1949, overriding Eisenhower's pleas. He also opposed the Japanese Security Pact, and the authorization of arms for our allies in the event of a Soviet attack.

Bricker voted to cut the European relief program endorsed by Eisenhower in 1948. He voted to cut European Recovery appropriations by 15 percent in 1945, and by 30 percent in 1950 and 1951. He voted against all military aid for NATO nations and our other allies including Korea in 1949. He voted against the Voice of America appropriation and against the Point Four program in 1950.

Running against Bricker is Michael DiSalle, an outstanding administrator and an all-out exponent of Eisenhower's international program. DiSalle is former director of the Office of Price Stabilization.

Utah: Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R) is running for re-election. He stands 51st out of 95 Senators on the political scientists' poll.

Watkins has been an isolationist in the Senate, voting for only 12 of the 41 key measures of bipartisan policy. He challenged Vandenberg's leadership with a series of crippling amendments to the North Atlantic Treaty. "My firm conviction," Watkins stated in opposing NATO, "is that the Treaty violates the Constitution by robbing Congress of its freedom of action."

Massachusetts: Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge (R) is opposed for re-election by Rep. John Kennedy. Lodge is rated seventh in the Senate and obviously qualifies as a knight in Ike's crusade.

Arizona: Sen. Ernest McFarland (D) seeks re-election. He ranks 30th on the political scientists' poll, and as Majority Leader supported the bipartisan policy.

Indiana: In Indiana, William F. Jenner (R) is running for re-election. He ranks 94th out of 95 Senators according to the political scientists. He supported three of the 41 key measures of bipartisan policy.

Jenner supported every effort to cut foreign-aid appropriations, to hamstring the Reciprocal Trade Agreements, to deny funds for the Point Four program and to provide funds for Franco. He opposed the liberalization of the Displaced Persons Act. He opposed economic and military assistance to allies in Europe and the Pacific including the Republic of Korea. He did his utmost to block the Mutual Security Program and to block the transfer of troops to Eisenhower's command. When India was starving Jenner opposed aid, arguing that the Hindus should eat their sacred cows.

Jenner attacked the Marshall Plan as "a fantastic spree that was used to finance a give-away program consisting of toupees, false teeth, free medicine, gambling casinos and free printing presses for Communist newspapers." He launched several violent attacks on Eisenhower's close friend, Gen. George Marshall. He declared that "the bipartisan foreign policy has been a fraud from start to finish." He told the Senate in December, 1950, that "internationalist Republicans" were equally responsible with "Communist coddling conspirators" in the Truman Administration for "the tragic predicament in which the nation finds itself."

He added:

"There is no point in continuing to attack a Democratic leadership that has gone berserk when self-appointed spokesmen for the Republican Party are down on their worshipful knees crawling around and licking the heels of the same false gods."

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Harry P. Cain

Washington: In Washington, Sen. Harry P. Cain (R) is running for re-election. He ranks 91st out of 95 Senators on the political scientists' poll. Cain has stood on every side of every issue. He began his career as a leader of the Young Democrats. He is now an extreme right-winger. He declared that the dismissal of General MacArthur by President Truman was "the greatest, most constructive action that has taken place in my lifetime." This same action now forms his central attack on the Administration. He sponsored a resolution declaring war on China, and offered as an alternative complete withdrawal from the Pacific. "Harry P. Cain," said the New York *Herald-Tribune* on June 15, 1950, "is endowed with a matchless ignorance on foreign affairs."

Cain voted with the Dixiecrats in opposing Barkley's ruling on cloture. He joined Bricker in attempting to use a civil-rights amendment to kill all public housing. He openly served as a front for real-estate lobbies in fighting control. He opposed increasing the minimum wage from 40 cents to 60 cents.

Cain was one of two Senators opposed to the 70-group Air Force. He opposed all military aid to the NATO nations and China, Greece, Turkey, Iran, Korea and the Philippines. He opposed economic aid to Korea in 1949 and also Point Four. He voted against General Marshall's appointment as Secretary of Defense. He voted to limit Eisenhower's forces to four divisions and to withhold all troops if the Senate could not be convinced that air cover was adequate.

Cain's record was so bad that an Eisenhower supporter, Gov. Arthur Langlie, considered filing against him in the Republican primary. His opponent in the general election is Rep. Henry Jackson, an ardent supporter of Eisenhower's international program.

Delaware: Sen. John J. Williams (R) seeks re-election. He rates 32nd on the political scientists' list. Williams is known for his excellent probing of corruption in the Bureau of Internal Revenue. He is an isolationist who voted for only eight of the 41 key bipartisan measures.

Maryland: Rep. Glenn Beall (R) is seeking election to the Senate. He has supported the Voice of America, but voted for cuts in foreign aid. He opposed the Point Four Program but supported the Mutual Security Program. He voted against the Defense Production Act and against Universal Military Training.

Nevada: Sen. George W. Malone (R), running for re-election in Nevada, ranks 92nd out of 95 Senators on the political scientists' poll. Malone is a bitter isolationist who supported UMT alone in all the bipartisan programs of the last five years. He supported Taft's effort to cut foreign aid by 10 percent in 1949. He was one of 11 Republican Senators who voted against the North Atlantic Pact. He was the most violent opponent of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements. He helped defeat a bill to liberalize the discriminatory treatment of displaced persons. He voted against the Point Four program. He supported Kem's effort to cut $1 billion from foreign aid in 1950; and voted to cut aid by $500 million. He voted against the Japanese peace treaty. He opposed troop shipments to Eisenhower's command on April 2, 1951, and supported the Dirksen amendment to cut $500 million from economic aid.

Malone denounced the Marshall Plan as "the most amazingly brazen and preposterous scheme for a world-wide redistribution of weath . . . yet proposed."

Wisconsin: Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R) is running for re-election. McCarthy is ranked 95th out of 95 Senators by the political scientists. "Republican political scientists," according to Dr. Byron L. Johnson and Professor W. E. Butt, organizers of the poll, "characterized him as not worthy of a Senate seat' and 'a disgrace to the US Senate.' "

McCarthy is a proven liar, guilty of misconduct in tax evasion and in acceptance of outsized fees from the Lustron Corporation. He is running on the issue of McCarthyism, defined by Gen. Conrad Snow, the Republican chairman of the State Department's Loyalty Board as:

"the making of baseless charges regarding the loyalty and integrity of public officers by a person . . . who uses his office at one and the same time as a platform from which to shout his accusations and as a screen to protect himself from action for defamation."

McCarthy's opponent will be Tom Fairchild, former Attorney General of Wisconsin, or Henry Reuss, former Deputy General Counsel of the Marshall Plan, who is special prosecutor to the Milwaukee County Grand Jury investigating municipal corruption and an outspoken advocate of Eisenhower's world views. Reuss has been praised and McCarthy condemned by the New York *Herald-Tribune*, the Milwaukee *Journal*, the New York *Times* and other pro-Eisenhower newspapers.

Joseph McCarthy

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James P. Kem

Missouri: Sen. James P. Kem (R), running for re-election in Missouri, ranks 83rd out of 95 Senators on the poll. Elected in the revolt against Pendergast, Kem promised to support the bipartisan foreign policy. In fact he has the worst record of any Senator, supporting two of 41 key measures on bipartisan policy.

Kem attacked the Marshall Plan as "the most gigantic dumping operation in all history." He added on April 4, 1949, "Marshall Plan aid is a great political slush fund to assist the Labour Party and Socialism in the coming British election." He declared, on July 17, 1950, that "the ECA will be regarded in history as we now regard the tulip craze, the South Sea bubble, the Mississippi bubble, the Salem witchcraft trials and the Florida land boom . . . one of the mass delusions."

Kem voted against the Voice of America. Moreover, he led an effort to block the assignment of troops to Eisenhower's command in April, 1951. He voted against the Korean Aid Bill on October 12, 1949. He voted against NATO on March 1, 1951, stating:

"I do not look with favor on committing any of our land troops to the continent of Europe. I think that it is unwise to undertake any military operations again on the continent of Europe."

Kem's opponent will be either Attorney General J. E. Taylor, or Stuart Symington, former chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and first secretary of the Air Force. Both men are ardent supporters of Eisenhower's international program.

Kentucky: Sen. Thomas Underwood (D) seeks re-election. He has supported the bipartisan policy, and ranks 66th on the political scientists' list. His opponent, former Sen. John Sherman Cooper, is an experienced internationalist who qualifies as a knight in Ike's crusade.

Minnesota: Sen. Edward Thye (R), who ranks 42nd in the list, is seeking re-election. He has a liberal and internationalist record and qualifies as a knight.

Wyoming: Sen. Joseph O'Mahoney (D) who seeks re-election ranks 17th on the list and has been a consistent internationalist. His opponent, former Gov. Frank Barrett, served in Congress where he opposed Point Four, voted to cut foreign aid and to deny aid to Korea and the Pacific area. Barrett was known chiefly for his intervention on behalf of the cattlemen's lobby to break down conservation practices on government lands.

Nebraska: Two Senatorial campaigns are being held in Nebraska. In one, former Gov. Dwight Griswold is opposed by Albert Ritchie, an anti-Truman Democrat. In the second, Sen. Hugh Butler (R) is seeking re-election against Stanley Long. Griswold, a forthright man, was severely criticized by isolationists for accepting responsibility in the bipartisan program by serving as chief of the American Mission for Aid to Greece in 1947 and 1948. Butler, in contrast, is a diehard isolationist who supported only five of 41 key bipartisan measures. Butler, who ranks 84th of 95 Senators in the poll was one of the hard core of isolationist Senators who fought against ECA, NATO, Mutual Security, Point Four, the transfer of troops to Europe and other programs endorsed or led by Eisenhower.

Connecticut: Sen. William Benton (D) is seeking re-election. He stands 15th out of 95 on the poll.

Benton has proved himself an outstanding internationalist. He is best known for his close support of the Voice of America program, his concern for a code of Congressional conduct and his demand that Senator McCarthy be expelled from the Senate for "perjury" and "calculated deceit and falsehood." Benton has supported all the major programs backed by Eisenhower and played a leading role in debates concerning US aid for Western Europe. His opponent is a non-union manufacturer, and former President of the Connecticut State Manufacturers Association without experience in international affairs.

Pennsylvania: Sen. Edward Martin (R) is seeking re-election. He ranks 53rd out of 95 Senators.

Martin supported 10 of the 41 key bipartisan measures in the last five years. He opposed economic aid, stating on January 12, 1950, "I am thoroughly convinced that bankruptcy is more imminent and more dangerous . . . than atomic attack by Soviet Russia." He strenuously opposed the transfer of US ground troops to Eisenhower's command and acted as a spokesman for the Grundy-Owlett Old Guard, fighting against Eisenhower in the Republican Convention.

Michigan: In Michigan, Sen. Blair Moody (D) is running for re-election. He stands 19th out of 95 Senators on the political scientists' poll. The organizers of this poll note "this meteoric rise" in Moody's single year in the Senate. They add, "while Senator Moody has not yet established his legislative ability, his intellectual capacity, his integrity and his approach to both domestic and foreign issues won acclaim from experts of both parties."

Moody's probable opponent is Rep. Charles Potter, known principally for his attack on Newbold Morris,

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New York Republican and would-be clean-up man in Washington, as a Communist fellow-traveler. Potter opposed rent controls and low-cost public housing. He supported the extension of social security, and also Representative Rankin's astronomical veterans' pension bill. He opposed the Reciprocal Trade Agreement in 1949. He opposed Point Four in 1950. He voted to cut ECA appropriations by $600 million. He opposed sending $60 million in aid to Korea and further ECA aid to the Pacific area. He supported the Mutual Security Program in 1951, but voted to cut it in 1952.

Montana: Sen. Zales M. Ecton (R), a cattleman, is running for re-election. He stands 75th out of 95 Senators in the poll. Ecton identified himself with the hard core of 15 extreme isolationists in the Senate. He voted for five of the 41 key measures of bipartisan policy.

In opposing Eisenhower's urgent plea for US troops to help guard Western Europe, Ecton declared in 1951:

> We are not bound morally or legally to send troops to Europe. No cries of isolationism will change my attitude toward the utter senselessness of appropriating many billions of dollars we do not have to support a non-existent plan for peace and national defense.

Running against Ecton is Rep. Mike Mansfield (D) regarded as one of the ablest leaders on Capitol Hill.

New Jersey: Sen. Alexander Smith (R), rated 34th among 95 Senators, is seeking re-election.

Smith went to the Senate as an internationalist-minded Republican. He became a supporter of General MacArthur during a 1949 visit to the Far East. From then on he became a strong advocate of Chiang Kai-shek. He supported the loan to Franco in 1951. He opposed the restrictions on troops to Europe. He opposed the appointment of Chester Bowles as Ambassador to India because "I feel that he would not represent the America in which I believe." He is best known for his unqualified endorsement of his lifelong friend Philip Jessup, and his subsequent vote against Jessup's nomination as US delegate to the UN following attacks by Senator McCarthy.

West Virginia: Sen. Harley M. Kilgore (D), ranged 29th in the poll and a consistent supporter of Eisenhower's international approach, is opposed by former Sen. Chapman Revercomb (R). In the 80th Congress Revercomb, together with Malone, Langer, Ball and Kem wholly opposed the Marshall Plan. Later he belonged to the "Revisionist" group of isolationists led by Senator Wherry. He sponsored the Wiley-Revercomb DP bill, described by Sen. J. Howard McGrath as an effort "to prevent displaced persons from coming to the US rather than to bring them here."

New Mexico: Sen. Dennis Chavez (D) who ranks 36th on the poll and who constantly supported the bipartisan policy is opposed by Patrick Hurley who ranks as a crusader of sorts but not in Ike's army. His attitudes toward the Pacific are MacArthurian, and his program for the Near East was described by an expert as "messianic baloney."

Patrick Hurley

New York: Sen. Irving M. Ives (R) ranked 12th on the poll is seeking re-election. He has generally supported internationalist measures. He voted for the Taft amendment to reduce foreign aid by $500 million in 1950. His critics maintain that he has worked steadily to weaken controls and cut back international measures only to reverse himself for the record on final votes.

These are the men hailed as the New Crusaders. For what do they crusade? Among the 24 Republican candidates, 11 are bitter enemies of Eisenhower's program; another five are basically unsympathetic; no more than five can be counted on to give him real support. Yet all 24 men are in danger of defeat. All will need, and all will demand Eisenhower's ardent support. All will share the platform with him and most will proceed with their vicious tirades against Acheson, Yalta, the United Nations and all foreign aid.

Since the Republicans must hold every seat they possess and pick up three more, party regularity will direct Eisenhower to intervene to save Bricker, Cain, Jenner, Kem, McCarthy and Malone and to defeat Benton, Kilgore, Moody and O'Mahoney. In doing so he will seal the Old Guard's control of the party he nominally heads. That party voted 27 to 10 in the Senate this year to hack $500 million from defense support to Europe; 27 to 9 to slash Point Four; 22 to 8 to cut $1 billion from Mutual Security funds despite Ike's urgent plea. The same Republican Party voted 160 to 10 in the House to cut European aid by $615,300 and 132 to 36 to cut aid to Asia by $111,200,000 or 60 percent.

What will Eisenhower do? If he backs McCarthy, Jenner, Cain, Kem and their friends, he may get them back to Washington. But he will erect a political and moral scaffold for himself and ensure his own defeat. For if he backs them he cannot win nor will he deserve the six million independent votes the Republicans must gain to elect a President.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE VOYAGE LIES WITHIN

by Kimon Friar

NEW YORK CITY reminds me of Venice. At first this may seem to be a startling comparison, but I mean it in a superficial yet meaningful sense, for nowhere in the world may one find two cities so supremely artificial. Both have been designed as for stage decor, settings of steel and *papier mâché* where the inhabitant may don a mask to play whatever role he pleases with but tenuous reference to reality. Among the wedding-cake palaces, the plazas, the Lido, the postcard canals and gondolas of Venice, as among the chromium and glass skyscrapers, the sunken delights of Rockefeller Plaza, the Music Halls and Paramounts, the blaze and carnival of the White Way, one is almost forced to adopt a gesture and tone of voice, construct a role and character in keeping with such artifice. The appeal is to the formal artifice of all art, yet periodic escapes are necessary that one may no longer be forced to act according to the expectations of friends or public, that one may seek to discover what has been forming under the mask. These were my thoughts on the deck of the *Nea Hellas* bearing me to Pireaus and Athens, and ultimately to my idyllic cottage on the Island of Poros at the edge of the Aegean Sea. A Greek sailor smartly presented me with a package which I knew to be books of travel for review air-expressed to me on board ship by the *New Republic*. With a sigh of delight (for what better reading on a voyage could there be?), I arranged for a deck chair, piled the books about me, and embarked on several voyages within a voyage, on new adventures and new comparisons.

Where should I voyage first? Since our first port of call was to be Lisbon, I turned eagerly to *Journey in the Sun*, by Dane Chandos (Doubleday; $2.50), an informal tour by automobile through Spain and Portugal. It seems that Mr. Chandos' uncle, an eccentric, monocled, and thoroughly stage-Englishman residing in Spain, had died recently, and that Mr. Chandos, residing in Mexico, had taken this opportunity to settle the affairs of the estate and to see those peninsular countries again. In the first few pages I was disconcerted to read that Mr. Chandos, thinking he had run over a five-year old child, tried "to remember in the few seconds available for how much insurance" he was covered. And I continued to be annoyed by the superciliousness and condescension of his manner throughout the trip, by what seemed to me the irrelevant and rather surprising incidents relating to his uncle's various dependents throughout Spain. Since the book does not pretend to be an informative guide, but rather to be a personal journal, everything depends on the character of the author for some depth or charm of insight or interpretation; I thought Mr. Chandos' style banal and his comments insipid and commonplace. This is a book almost anyone might have written, given a sense of superiority and a mind thoroughly anonymous. I was not at all surprised, therefore, and all the more confirmed to trust my instincts hereafter, when a chance acquaintance in first class, who was teaching me Russian Bank and in whose veracity I have every reason to believe, informed me that he knew "Dane Chandos" well, that he had been, in fact, two Englishmen living in Mexico, Nigel Millett and Peter Lilley, and that these highly profitable series of *Houses*, *Villages*, and *Journeys in the Sun* were now being written by a Mr. Oke, that the rich uncle was entire fabrication. Though no one likes to be defrauded, I spent a pleasant and informative evening learning to play a highly amusing game. And as I drove through the streets of Lisbon, I determined to return some day for a stay in order to discover, if possible, whether beneath the open charm of colorful tile façades of this elegant city I could detect any of the mood of Frederic Prokosch's *The Conspirators* (as book or cinema) or "Mr. Chandos'" description of Lisbon's "mephitic fires," its "aroma of sin," or the "atmosphere of agreeable wickedness" which it supposedly distills. Perhaps one might trust "Mr. Chandos" in these matters.

As we passed between the Pillars of Hercules and sped along the coast and islands of Spain, I turned to the next book with some curiosity: *Ticket to Israel*, by Judy Shepard and Alvin Rosenfeld (Rinehart; $3.75), for although I knew nothing of that fascinating new experiment in the forming of nations, I had spent a half day in Haifa in 1946 when the streets had been crisscrossed with barbed wire and crowded with English soldiers. I had ascended Mt. Carmel in mystical union with St. John of the Cross, and on the summit, where I expected to envisage Elijah in flight on his blazing chariot, I found—sobering sight—a slick new modern bar serving every variety of cocktail and *hors d'oeuvres*. The Israelis have invented a local saw which goes: "Jerusalem is the city of the past, Tel Aviv of the present, but Haifa is the city of the future." *Ticket to Israel* is first of all, a practical guide clearly written and containing in an intelligent and well-organized form (including an index) all that a traveler need know from a purely informative point of view. But it is more than this, for it includes enough historical, sociological, and religious information to highlight the important developments in Israel during the formative past two decades. There are chapters on the most important cities: Tel Aviv, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Haifa, on the coastal plain and the valleys, on the Arabs and the desert, on mineral reclamation from the Dead Sea, and, most interesting of all, on every variety of some 230-odd *kibbutzim* or collective farms: from those to whom the individual is almost completely subordinated to those in which he has

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almost complete autonomy. I found the story of the pioneering, the failures and the successes of these *kibbutzim* somehow symbolic of the entire Israelite experiment, and caught some of the zeal and doggedness with which the entire country is being created. I, for one, intend to buy a *Ticket to Israel.*

Having decided not to make a third trip to Pompeii, I sat in the grand Glass Gallery in Naples sipping an *espresso* and contemplating a *Journey to Persia* (Dutton; $3.75), told in so invocatory a manner by Robert Payne, who had undertaken this journey to Iran on behalf of the Asia Institute of New York. Robert Payne is everything that "Dane Chandos" is not: a man of style and imagination, precise in his descriptions yet forceful in his own interpretations. From Paris he flew to Baghdad, over the Elbrus mountains in a violent thunderstorm to Teheran, visited the famous fountains and rose gardens of Shiraz ("roses smell best when they are dying"), the tombs of the poets and the Pavilion of Karin Kahn, then proceeded to Persepolis where the remains of the palace of Xerxes still stand, and on to the blue-domed mosques of Isfahan and the golden domes of Meshed. He describes the desert as a "lion-skin," and the great broken brick arch of Ctesiphon in the desert as a "huge brown-hooded eye peering out into infinite spaces." Present Iran is swallowed up in what Mr. Payne describes as the "Persian splendor," a concept of tradition and emphasis on maturity which he contrasts to the emphasis on progress and youth of the Ancient Greeks. The splendor of Persia lives again in his pages, whether he is describing a lizard playing in the sun with a red poppy, or the reading of Proust amid the ruins of Persepolis, or to Persian artists who "gave to the faces of their sculpture the scene of repose which comes to men when, having lived long in the sun, they enter the shade."

We passed through the Strait of Messina at midnight, between the electric and neon clutches of Scylla and Charybdis. During the next two days, as we skimmed through the Ionian Sea below Zante and Cythera (where Aphrodite was born), I roamed in imagination over all of Europe, for I had before me a large octavo volume of 248 photogravure plates accompanied by brief historical notes and a commentary by Stephen Spender: *Europe in Photographs* (Thames and Hudson; $7.50), selected by Dr. M. Hürlimann of Zurich. Judging from the countries and scenes I have myself visited, I found the photographs to be pleasant, accurate, and expected, the notes much like those in a textbook, and the commentary, on the causes for unity and disunity on that continent, at times provocative and revealing. Except, however, for one magnificent photograph of Edinburgh—its acropolis in the foreground, the city lost in smoke below, the hills rising into tumultous clouds amid a flight of aeroplanes, a scene out of the *Inferno*—these photographs do not reveal the penetrating or poetic eye of say, a Cartier-Bresson or a Walker Evans, not even the decorative stance of a Cecil Beaton. They are exactly the kind of photographs one would wish to keep in an album of travels to remind one of familiar sights and scenes visited. But as I finally extricated myself from customs, piled my baggage into a taxi and sped down Pireaus Street toward Athens, and again caught sight of the Parthenon floating above the city on its acropolis, I knew that the creative eye must always direct the mechanical wink of camera, that the voyage lies within.

THE SHADOW OF SHAW

NEW FABIAN ESSAYS, edited by Richard Crossman (Turnstile Press; 15/6).

THAT PIONEER document of Western Socialism, the first Fabian Programme, contained practically no reference to foreign policy. But then, when the famous *Fabian Essays* first appeared in 1889, the prosperity of the British Isles had not been disturbed by the disaster of major war for seventy-four years—a period almost long enough to discount its recurrence. Or so it could well seem to Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Bernard Shaw and the rest of the young Fabians.

Reared in the comfort of 19th century optimism, the Fabians were certain that enlightened persuasion plus "the irresistible social trends" would be enough to make their programme acceptable. Fabianism implied no *mystique* of working class virtue. On the contrary, it was a programme of effecting reforms *for* the working classes. This fact may well have accounted for the far-reaching influence of Fabian ideas, right down the years to Roosevelt's New Deal and the first three years of the post-war British Labour Government.

These Fabian blueprints for sensible reform, sixty-three years later are no longer a clear guide. Richard Crossman, in a recent volume of *New Fabian Essays* tries to repeat the original Fabian editorial role of Bernard Shaw. Already the choice of the eight contributors illustrates the social shift in British Left-wing thought. The first five—Richard Crossman, C. A. R. Crosland, Roy Jenkins and Denis Healey—are all covered by the triple qualification of Oxford men, intellectuals, and Labour Members of Parliament. Then there are Ian Mikardo and Austin Albu, two more M.P.s with intellectual leanings, and finally Mrs. Margaret Cole, wife of Professor G. D. H. Cole (of Oxford, naturally) and herself a long-standing Fabian activist.

This stress on Oxford and Parliament gives the *New Fabian Essays* a certain one-sidedness, and, of course, this new volume is not for a moment comparable to the famous original. Yet the new selection has its significance and interest, above all in underlining the differences between 1889 and 1952. The original Fabians, safe behind the British Navy, could ignore foreign affairs. Today every British proposal for economic reform must carry the depressing *proviso* "if international conditions permit." In 1889 Socialism seemed a bright adventure. The latter-day Fabians of today must always be aware both of the material matter of American capitalism, and of the shadow of the USSR, looming at their back like a gigantic and British caricature of Fabian collectivism. For these reasons it is of interest to see eight British Labour Party intellectuals for once forget narrow Party

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quarrels and really speak their minds—or almost.

Some of the views expressed in this volume have already startled British reviewers. For the American Liberal reader, too, it will have its surprises. The first surprise, I imagine, would be to discover as good as no mention of those questions which today so plague his mind—the question where American Liberals should stand with respect to Communists, the question of McCarthyism, the question of clear and present danger, and all the rest of it. The contributors to *New Fabian Essays* simply take it for granted that most English Left-wing intellectuals were guilty of pro-Communist wooliness at the time of the Spanish Civil War and have now learned better—and that's all.

A second surprise would be the striking absence in *New Fabian Essays* of that mood of "anti-Americanism" which Aneurin Bevan has helped to associate in the American mind with the British Labour Party. A quotation from Mr. Crossman's opening essay, written in a kind of didactic shorthand, here sets the tone for the whole volume:

> To reject America as a capitalist country and to treat the Soviet Empire (sic) as an example of Socialist planning is to make nonsense of every one of our ideals. . . . We can cooperate with the Americans as allies, influencing their policies despite their superior strength. It would be folly to expect such a relationship with the Soviet Union. Co-existence, yes. Mutually beneficial agreements, yes. But never co-operation.

Does the emphasis in these sentences differ from Mr. Crossman's bows to anti-American prejudice in the 4-million circulation London *Sunday Pictorial?* It does. But then, that's politics.

The third surprise for American Liberals would be the pessimistic approach, the swing towards Left-wing *Realpolitik*, shown by all the eight Fabians. Here again Mr. Crossman leads the way. If the British Labour movement had in 1951 lost its momentum, he says, it was not because of the loss Ernest Bevin and Stafford Cripps, not because of the Korean war, or rearmament, but because the movement had plainly lost its political directions in the utterly changed landscape of the mid-20th century. In an essay echoing George Orwell, Arthur Koestler and James Burnham, Crossman drives this point home. British Labour, he says, had kept its eyes too exclusively on the capitalist economic revolution whose evils it hoped to cure by nationalization and state control. What it had ignored was the political revolution of the last fifty years which has played untold new powers in the hands of the state, or its possible despotic controllers. In fact, the world danger created by present-day technics was that of the managerial society, seen in its most tyrannical, i.e. totalitarian form in the Soviet Union, but also, in Crossman's view, already glimpsed here and there in the USA under the stress of Cold War.

What then, in these surroundings, should be the function of democratic Socialists? It is to educate, to preserve moral standards, to prevent concentration of "managerial" power in an increasingly *mixed* society of private and state enterprise: "Just as capitalism *could* be civilized into the Welfare State, so the managerial society *can* be civilized into democratic socialism."

In this sense, the task before British Socialists who insist on the name is not so very different from that before American Liberals who insist that they are not Socialists.

This, by and large, is also the line taken by the other Fabian essayists. C. A. R. Crosland, a young Oxonian economist, sees good prospects for "statism," another name for Welfare State capitalism, in both Britain and the United States. John Strachey, writing from his experience as a Cabinet Minister, comes to much the same conclusion. Roy Jenkins, re-examining the concept of "equality," thinks that British Socialists should press further towards this ideal—but not too fast, Austin Albu and Ian Mikardo write somewhat tentatively about the problems of, respectively, industrial democracy and British trade unionism. Margaret Cole, in the most readable essay of the lot, favours the introduction in Britain of multiple High Schools on the American model, but adjusted to British, not American, cultural traditions.

These are British domestic topics. Of wider interest is a realistic essay on power politics by Denis Healey, former International Secretary of the Labour Party. Too many minds, Healey writes, are today still dominated by the special picture of 1945-50, that of two continental super-states, US and USSR, glowering at each other over a power vacuum in which Britain is the only other strong state. The re-emergence of Germany, Japan and China is already changing this picture. Already therefore the vision of a world shaped almost exclusively by Anglo-Saxon policy is no longer appropriate and more attention, Healey thinks, should be given to the possibilities of conventional diplomacy and power politics.

The same is true of Crossman's insistence that Anglo-Saxon democracy is a highly specialized historical product, and cannot be mechanically transplanted to backward oriental countries, with their illiterate masses. Not the hungry masses, he says, make Communist revolutions, but a tiny educated minority, enflamed against the West on psychological grounds. To these nationalist intellectuals, Communism offers a technique of power through revolution. By contrast, Western democracy plus economic aid seems only to buttress local *status quo* and corruption. So what is the way out?

Crossman has no precise answer to this question, yet what he says is worth reading because this problem of relations with Asian and African countries is today as crucial for American as for British policy. And it is a problem about which Americans need to think much more realistically—witness the contrast between the superficial "anti-Colonialism" of American speech-making, and the actual awkward American fumbling with Syngman Rhee or Chiang Kai-shek.

In the end, the operative difference between 1889 and 1952 is that the social problems the Old Fabians tried to tackle inside tidy little Victorian England today demand answers on a chaotic world scale. A depressing prospect—but it might at least be recognized. And in clarifying this point, the *New Fabian Essays* of the new-style British Labour Party intellectuals help. T. R. FYVEL

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LOVE'S LABOURS LOST

MODERN POETRY AND THE CHRISTIAN TRADITION, by Amos N. Wilder (Scribner's; $3).

AMOS N. WILDER is an anti-dogmatic Congregationalist minister, now on the theological faculty of the University of Chicago, and Professor of New Testament Interpretation at the Chicago Theological Seminary. He is also a lover of poetry, modern poetry in particular. In this study, he has proposed to relate modern poetry, both devotional and "secular," to the Christian tradition, from which the former directly stems, and on which the latter, he holds, always bears, whether affirmatively or negatively. It is somewhat difficult to ascertain Dr. Wilder's own position relative to the Christian tradition itself which is founded in belief in the divinity of Christ. "Jesus belonged to the 'charismatic' type of the Near East, whose utterance often came, if not in ecstatic or near-ecstatic states, at least in that kind of heightened and visionary immediacy which inevitably took rhythmic expression." This description of Christ as a "type" of any kind, would appear to dissociate the author even from the Protestant traditional conviction. His allegiance appears to be rather to the Protestant *principle.*

Dr. Wilder's primary thesis—that the poetic experience is basically the same as the religious experience—is one disputed by many poets, among them W. H. Auden, who sharply disparages such a confusion of the two, and makes the scholastic distinction that one is of the natural order and the other of the supernatural. The fulfillment of the poetic experience is the poem itself, an "artifice," while that of the mystic religious experience is an ineffable communion, for its own sake, of the soul with its Creator. If the latter experience is celebrated in poetry, or its attendant insights put into the form of poetry, the experience of creating or finding the desired form must nevertheless be distinguished from the experience which provides, directly or indirectly, the subject or the insight. "Art is not life and cannot be. . . ."

Dr. Wilder, however, insists that the two experiences are "consubstantial," although a reader is likely to conclude in examining the body of evidence on which he bases this premise that he proves no more than that religious feeling has almost always found poetic expression, and that all poetry is religious in some sense, even if only anti-religious, even if only man-worshipping; even if, as with "pure" poetry, poetry itself is the religion. An iconoclastic artist, such as Joyce, he looks upon as in fact carrying out a religious vocation in his very revolt.

Even recognizing some of the aberrancies that emerged from what Hoxie Fairchild calls the "Titanic assertion of human self-sufficiency which had begun to manifest itself as a dominant movement of mind in the 16th century," Dr. Wilder nevertheless argues that:

> Instead of seeing the self-sufficiency as a Titanism rebellious against due authority, it can be seen as the story of western man emerging from an epoch of law and entering into an epoch of responsible freedom with all the risks and dangers involved. When, in the *Divine Comedy,* Vergil has conducted Dante through the Inferno and led him to the Earthly Paradise, he says to him, " . . . now
> I crown and mitre thee lord over thyself. . . . "

A question as to whether the "Vergils" who so crowned us may not have acted somewhat prematurely is bound to arise, however, when in due course Dr Wilder himself provides a familiar, but still horrifying, glimpse of the sorry state of modern man and modern life, and reminds us thereby of how far indeed man is from being lord over himself, and this world from being the Earthly Paradise.

> "The ceremony of innocence is drowned," as Yeats wrote. That is, the creative and transfiguring central rites of church and synagogue have given place in our flat and sordid world to the "kitsch" and ugliness of the yellow journal and pulp literature, life has been despiritualized, and a crass mediocrity has banished all sense of wonder and miracle from existence.

Turning again, with relief I should think, to poetry, Dr. Wilder re-assesses "traditional" poetry, and offers an explanation of its failure to be meaningful to men today, or to be relevant, even in its language, to present-day experience. Our delight, he quotes from Wallace Stevens, "lies in flawed words and stubborn sounds." His reading is very wide, and he examines something of the work of almost every contemporary poet and many of their predecessors. He gives considerable attention to Catholic poetry, particularly to Hopkins and Peguy, although his appreciation of their work is keener than his understanding of the poets themselves, of whom he also writes. For the most part, he deplores the "esotericism" of the Catholic frame of reference, and the limitations on worldly experience which he believes Catholicism, and to some extent traditional Protestantism, impose on the artist. He even seems hopeful that the recent rich and varied signs of new life and wide interests among the most gifted Catholic writers—rather than bespeaking the enlivening effect of their faith on the imagination and intellect—augur "theological scandal," and that "this branch of the church appears to be in a period like that which preceded the Reformation."

The Anglican poets, Auden and Eliot, he rather lumps in with the Roman Catholic, particularly in their dogmatic theology and persistent use of what he regards as esoteric Christian symbolism, unintelligible to most men today. They have however, he says, "combined Anglo-Catholic tradition with an empiricism in experience that marks a Protestant freedom." This may not represent so much a choice of greater, or Protestant, freedom as it does sheer circumstance. Both poets are converts and preceding years of "secular involvement and immersion" taught them at first hand the crisis of today, which they now deal with in the Christian terms of their more lately acquired faith. Ultimately, Dr. Wilder concludes that "the Christian faith understood in terms of Protestant freedom offers the artist today the best basis for full grasp and interpretation of the modern experience." But he justly notes that "there are no first rank artists and poets whose orientation is consistently and recogniz-

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ably Protestant," who might support this theory.

His book is a labor of real love for poetry itself and for Christianity in his interpretation of it. The tone is pedantic, and he appears to have directed the work to readers of rather limited acquaintance with modern literature, and to have meant to instruct his readers in poetry as well as in his faith. Instructed they will be, but one could wish with better logic and less wishfulness. Dr. Wilder has been awarded the Bross Prize from a Calvinist foundation, for this work. S. M. FITZGERALD

ONE BEDRAGGLED ORACLE

HENRY ADAMS: SCIENTIFIC HISTORIAN, by William Jordy (Yale Press; $5).

OF THE MAKING of books about Henry Adams there seems to be no end. Already there are many more books about him than by him and the number increases yearly. The literate can't let him alone, although it is long since anything both new and important has been said about him.

Mr. Jordy, for instance, undertakes to dispose of Adams as a scientist, which he does with ruthless efficiency. But had anyone, except perennial sophomores, ever taken Adams seriously as a scientist? Certainly Adams himself did not, nor did the geologists, physicists and mathematicians with whom he associated.

Jordy does, however, push the dissection a little further. He strongly suggests that what Adams practiced was not science but nescience. His incapacity rested upon his ability to comprehend that science is not a body of knowledge, but a method of inquiry; but Jordy flatly asserts that he did not respect even the body of knowledge that science employed in his time. Such facts as conflicted with his theories he blandly ignored. This, if established, would make him a quack, both as scientist and as historian.

It is not established, it is only asserted. It is true that while Adams was still elaborating his theory of the degradation of energy, the second law of thermodynamics was already becoming suspect as regards its universality. But only the vanguard of physicists suspected it, and certainly this dilletante was not in the van. So while the shattering of his premise leaves his argument looking silly, it is not proved that he knowingly chose a false premise. Mere error is not charlatanry.

Still, as an oracle Adams is now pretty bedraggled; yet he fascinates the intellectuals. They cannot keep their minds off him and all seem impelled to write about him. That is a mystery on which Jordy's book throws some light, by implication rather than explicitly. Perhaps the scribbling fraternity are compelled to look at Adams because he gives them goose-flesh. He is a startling example of a powerful intelligence linked to a puny spirit. Whenever he touched life he shuddered and recoiled. Fossils, ancient documents, the stones of a Gothic cathedral he could handle superbly, but at contact with flesh and blood he cringed. So, in spite of his great gifts he remains basically ridiculous and even a bit loathsome.

For the *illuminati* any reminder that intellect is not enough has a horrid fascination. So they contemplate Henry Adams for much the same reason that an earlier generation carried around skulls and cross-bones. He is their *memento mori.* GERALD W. JOHNSON

THE ROMANTIC BACH

by Robert Evett

GERTRUDE STEIN says that "it is hard to kill a century almost impossible." She saw the Nineteenth Century dying hard ten years ago, but its thinking is still with us; the apparent indestructibility of Romantic thought lends itself to a rather gratifying comparison with the survival of the Baroque, that exotic product of the Seventeenth Century which reached its fullest musical expression only after it had become *passé.* When J. S. Bach began to write, the Baroque movement was already a hundred years old; it was beginning to atrophy and decay. Conservative moderns can always find pleasure in the fact that Bach, by identifying himself with a decadent style, was hopelessly outmoded before his career had reached its apex. Conditioned as we are to looking for superior work from the *avant garde*, it is agreeable to find at least one major composer who was a blind reactionary.

As an active tradition, the Baroque was dead by the middle of the eighteenth century, but the peace in which it rested was broken in about twenty-five years, when Mozart began to write fugues in the old style. Beethoven's professed admiration for this style presaged a lively popular revival of Bach and Handel during the Romantic age; this revival has again transcended the limits of its proper century. In the Romantic view, Bach was a Titan, a self-consciously grand figure, concerned with profundities and, unfortunately, hamstrung by an over fussy style. The idea that a great composer could be capable of an almost kittenish levity is incompatible with Romantic sentiments; because of this, the Romantics tended to apologize for Bach's charm, and to exaggerate that seriousness which is certainly to be found here. Mendelssohn and Schumann were among the many reverent admirers of his work who felt that it must be heavily revised before its true greatness could be revealed. Tampering with Bach was a respectable occupation in the 1840s, and it has not yet gone into complete disrepute.

Modern intellectuals, who seem to have a need for Baroque order, have become very leery of the padded Bach; they seem to prefer something approximating the original form, but in this regard they have shown a gullibility which is, at the least, startling. They assume that anyone who advertises himself as a purist is just that, and that anyone who plays the harpsichord is offering them Baroque music in its original form.

In the playing of the harpsichord, Mme. Wanda Landowska has accomplished a feat which should have warmed the cockles of P. T. Barnum's black heart. Mme. Landowska has seduced the brighter part of the American public into believing that she offers it an authentic reading of Bach and his predecessors. What this lady actually uses is a modern Pleyel harpischord, an in-

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strument that she employs as a sort of dispose-all. The great virtue of this contraption is that it can produce a dozen coloristic effects that were unknown in the Baroque era; its special vice—though, actually, the vice is in the player rather than in the instrument—is in a complicated set of pedals by which the pitch can be altered an octave or more at will. There is no reason that Landowska could not play well on this instrument if she wanted to; like the organ, a modern harpsicord is an agent of taste, and an infallible testing ground for taste. Unfortunately, Landowska, like so many of her contemporaries, uses it as an instrument for producing mud pies. After fifteen years of incredulous listening, I am finally convinced that this woman kicks all the pedals in sight when she senses danger ahead. When she sits down to play a Bach fugue, I go through all the torments that a passenger experiences when he is being driven over a treacherous mountain road by an erratic driver, and when she finally finishes the thing it is almost a pleasure to relax into nausea.

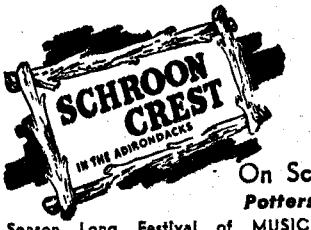
Landowska's furious pedalling seems to be directed more and more towards a lever that controls the sixteen foot stop. This device, which was virtually unknown on ancient harpsichords, produces an almost unintelligible roar, an octave below the written note, so that clarity yields to an ungodly jangle. More than any one else, Mme. Landowska is responsible for the current view that, to be authentic, old music must sound bad.

If Landowska is embarrassed by the absence of Baroque authority for her style of playing, she must find considerable comfort in the modern writers who agree with her completely. Albert Schweitzer, whose opinions require a certain amount of respect, finds in Bach the archetype of the Romantic. Schweitzer's view, as exemplified by his own organ playing, is that no license is too great if it helps to bring out the intensity of the music.

Letters and other documents of the period would indicate that Bach and his confederates were obsessed with the notion of clarity in music. Transparency of sound allowed them a freedom which has not been known since the evolution of modern instruments and the symphony orchestra, in which complexity of design must be absorbed by mass. Not only the instruments but also the orchestras and choirs of the time were contrived so that the imagination of the composer might find its most elaborate expression in the inner parts. As heavy sonority tends to obscure the workings of a complex inner structure, it was avoided during the Baroque era. To retain its clarity, the music of the period had to stress lightness and brilliance at the expense of the grand. The *style galant* of Bach suggests none of the heavy opulence of Rubens; it may well call to mind the light hands of Swift or Voltaire, and its claim to greatness lies largely in its elegance. In spite of his involvement with mystical religion and his apparent emotional sensibility, Bach never seems to have concerned himself with purely subjective criteria. He enjoyed a high, aristocratic opinion of himself and his work.

Nobody likes to think that Bach was a real snob. Beethoven has set an example by loving and writing for "future humanity," at least in the abstract, and it annoys us to think that Bach deliberately avoided popularity. Obviously, anyone of his imagination could have attained at least Handel's following if he had set out to get it. Bach was not willing to sacrifice intricacy for popularity; I suspect that those well-wishers who have emasculated his work for his own sweet sake have done him a serious disservice. When Bach engraved his own best pieces "For music lovers and especially for connoisseurs of such work," he must have realized that his special finesse could only be apprehended by a limited audience. If time had actually made his work more accessible, his opinion of it could be dismissed as a crotchety phenomenon of his age; as it is, his work has proven vulnerable but indestructible. Baroque music must be destroyed before it becomes really vulgar, and Bach's work is as esoteric today as it was two hundred years ago.

[This is the first of three essays on aspects of Baroque music.—The Editors.]



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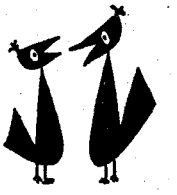

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